/121 cont./

166 Therefore two types of nomadism are superimposed on each
• 221 other in the migratory movements of the Waika: the nomadism
241 of the very active hunting for wild food, which is represented today
182 as a radial movement from an agricultural central-point, stamps the annual cycle, whereas the agricultural village-move, which follows the fields cleared by burning, occurs in a cycle of a few years and has a greater spatial range than the wild-food forays. To express it in a different manner: a wild-food nomadism more restricted spatially and temporally fills out the periods of the more extended agricultural migrations. Even at the ends of these periods, when both cycles overlap, they are felt by the Waika to be quite different matters and not mutually substitutable: after they have worked for a time in the new, scarcely begun planting, and the external reasons for a forest sojourn (such as change of living place and more favorable possibilities for gathering and hunting) are assuredly present, they still move off once more in the traditional manner to another place in the forest -- the laying out of a new plantation, even with the great similarity of external circumstances, is basically different from the forest life of hunting for wild food and in no way a substitute for it.

162 The short sojourns in the forest are, as was said, usually
621 made by the whole village, whereas with the laying out of new
182 plantings the group of families comes into the foreground as the
174 working unit. One might conclude from this fact that the formation and the sociological importance of the groups of families is connected with the introduction of agriculture. I should like to make the opposite conclusion, however, that merely the old wild-food settlement-unit has maintained itself in these groups of families in the present larger agricultural village-society. The relationship of the groups of families to hunting for wild food is clear from the fact that the gift-exchange carried on by the groups of families is quite predominantly an exchange of meat, to which a few roasted bananas are added, and can only take place after a hunt.

105 Thus the sociological findings regarding the larger social
621 units of the Yanoama reflect the picture of the other cultural
182

Surára
Pakidái

/11 cont./

361 very well preserved and only the roofs would need to be covered with fresh palm leaves.

One exception is Camp Xiwarí, which is 35 kilometers north of the Cachoeira dos Indios on the upper Araçá. Three-fourths [342] of the circle, which is 28 meters in diameter, is made up of ten of the small huts described, while a similarly constructed dwelling seven meters long and five meters high occupies the remaining fourth. In the center of the circle, as usual, stands the chief's [241] hut. Around the camp, rocas (forest clearings) have been laid out, where bananas, pupunha palms, manioc, species of sweet • [221] potatoes, and tobacco are planted. The Surára stay here every year between the months of October and December. In the [156] large huts at that time two young men about 20 years old are always trained as medicine man's helpers for two months by the chief and his brother (see pp. 143 f.).

342 The second house-form is a large, open, almost circular
361 maloka which lies in a valley between three short mountain ranges, 70 kilometers northeast of the Cachoeira dos Indios and about 100 kilometers south of the source region of the Orinoco (Ill. 5). This is a construction (see Fig. 1 /see p. 27 /) which has not been documented up to now for South American Indians. During the dry season it is occupied by the Surára and Pakidái jointly. As the more detailed explanation will show, this house form developed from the circularly arranged small huts which serve as overnight quarters. Camp Xiwarí described above clearly shows the transitional form.

361 Around an area 52 meters long and 48 meters wide three curved
342 windscreens about six meters high are erected (Ill. 6), as well as a rectangular house with gable roof, open toward the inner area. The length of the largest windscreen is 74.40 meters and that of the other two 28.60 and 25.40 meters, respectively. The chief's rectangular house is 9.70 meters long. Four entrances, 8 meters, 6.80 meters, 6.30 meters, and 2 meters wide respectively, lead toward the large open circular area. A fifth entrance, which is only one meter high and 50 centimeters wide, however, is inside the largest windscreen. Moreover, it should be mentioned that

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

supple wood and well over six feet long, it is very powerful. With it the Walka can shoot an arrow more than a hundred yards and can hit a *pauji*—a bird about the size of a turkey—at forty yards. Normally two or three arrows are carried and they are as long as, if not longer than, the bow itself. The shafts are made of reed which, Cardona said, is specially grown for the purpose on their plantations, and are feathered by falcon's feathers. The feathers are meticulously tied in a near-perfect spiral with thread of forest cotton or morisco palm fibre. Each arrow has a different head specially adapted to a particular purpose. Spare arrow-heads are carried in a quiver in which also is carried fire-making material to protect it from the damp.

The quiver is a simple bamboo case to which are also tied a firestick and a number of little knives made from the incisors of a large rodent called a capybara. It is carried on the back by means of a string slung round the forehead.

Such comprise the simple impedimenta of the Walka on his journeys through the forest. The women, who accompany their mates on their many ceaseless wanderings, presumably have their own burdens to carry, but we saw nothing of them until we visited our first native village on the next day.

As we went up-river we came across the remains of a rude bridge which had formerly spanned the two hundred yards of river and which had been carried away by the flood waters. It was the biggest bridge we had seen although we had passed a number of lesser ones fashioned of lianas spanning the tributaries. On the bank where the bridge had been were some twenty natives and a handful of children.

"*Apo! Shori! Apo!*" they greeted us.

We knew from Butrón that, though his men were accustomed to replenish their banana stocks at this place, they had so far never been allowed to visit the village hidden somewhere in the forest.

The Walka lives on wild fruits, fish, meat and the produce of plantations adjacent to his villages. Most of his time he spends wandering in the forest and his fleeting appearances at his village occur usually only when natural resources fail or when he has to defend himself against an enemy horde. He knows

9:Greller K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

his jungle intimately—where to find palm dates, cocoa and brazil nuts in their season, and where game birds are most plentifully found. He hunts the herds of peccary, his ear, versed in all the sounds of the forest, detecting his prey before they detect him. When the water in the rivers is low he shoots his fish with arrows and when the sand banks are uncovered he hunts tortoise eggs buried in the sand. His interminable wanderings are limited only by his forest lore; he lives only for the day, his sole reserve of food being a small store of bananas brought from the village plantation.

Platanal

As we closed the shore our reception was tumultuous. From the high bank above us the Indians leaped yelling into the water and clambered on board, shaking themselves like wet dogs. Laughing and gesticulating they took hold of our mooring lines. Though some of us were a little overcome by this display of exuberance, Butrón was not in the least disconcerted. He knew that the Indians had long learned to associate him with machetes and *manioc*. As soon as it was possible to do so, Butrón had a basket of *manioc* and a dozen machetes carried ashore, and the Indians who had already begun to ransack our cargo left it and hurried ashore.

"*Shori! Manioco! Oji!*" they cried striking their bellies. They jostled round the basket, stuffing handfuls of the coarse flour into their mouths, their heads thrown back in ecstasy.

As the Waika have no knowledge of contriving the simplest of iron tools, or of grinding *manioc*, all such articles were highly valued objects of barter. So were matches, once they had been shown how to use them.

Butrón told them we wanted the large green bananas which are eaten cooked; the accepted tariff is three hands of bananas for one machete. Before long, we heard some of the natives making merry in the plantation, and made as if to follow them. But at once the others became suspicious and gestured to us to return to the river bank. We insisted and they became menacing, finally refusing to go on gathering the bananas if we did not desist.

35| large entrance, that leading to the river or stream. All entrances are covered with dry leaves and brush in the evening and the slightest movement of the covering creates sufficient noise to alert the dogs.

133 [37] The Yąnomamö occupy a relatively homogeneous geographical region of low-lying tropical jungle interrupted by densely-wooded hills that sometimes reach an altitude of 2,500 feet, some 2,000 feet above the elevation of the general

36| [33] [49] terrain. Larger hills are more common in the headwaters of the Orinoco and along the boundaries separating Brazil from Venezuela, but the Indians prefer to make their villages in the lowlands on small streams, as all of their travelling is

[119] done on foot. Only recently have the Yąnomamö begun moving to the larger rivers, where they may obtain canoes and steel tools from foreigners. In 1950 there was only one Yąnomamö village, Mahekodo-tedi, on a navigable portion of the Orinoco River; since then at least seven or eight villages have moved to the Orinoco or one of its larger tributaries in order to gain access to trade goods (axes and machetes) foreign to their culture. The overwhelming number of Yąnomamö villages,

[121] [184] however, can only be reached by walking to them. During the wet season (April-September) travel all but ceases between villages because the trails linking villages are inundated.

24| The Yąnomamö are slash-and-burn horticulturists, subsisting mainly on plantains and bananas, of which they cultivate four or five varieties each. Following these crops in economic importance are several root crops, including taro,

722 villagers return from their visit, returning only to fetch
361 food from the garden. When the men are away on a raid, the
women and children are concealed in these temporary sites
• 221 until the men return. During the dry season when raiding and
361 feasting are common, villages are frequently deserted; the
574 men are away on a raid and the women and children are hiding
722 in the jungle, or the entire village has gone off to partic-
ipate in a feast at another village. This pattern has rather
unfortunately been described as nomadism, or semi-nomadism,
by a number of students of Yanomamö culture. I wish to
emphasize that the Yanomamö population movements, annually or
over a longer period of time, are almost exclusively a function
of their warfare pattern and not economic considerations, as
is implied in the use of the terms nomadism and semi-nomadism.

422. All males above 13 or 14 years of age have a bow,
484 arrows, a bamboo case for carrying extra arrow tips, a fire
[411] drill, and several 'knives' made from the incisors of the
[415] agouti rodent. Both sexes have either a cotton or a vine
[372] hammock. These possessions are easily carried by the owner
[237] on long trips and are rapidly packed. Whenever I wanted to
[352] accompany a group of people on trips to other villages they
[123] always complained about how much of a burden I would be. It
always took me several hours to prepare my packs, and I
always took more than I could comfortably carry myself, having
484 to hire some of them to assist me. They, on the contrary,
could be ready to depart within ten minutes of their decision
to leave, having only to roll up their hammocks and pack a few

The major effect of these raids, apart from the ten lives they claimed, was that the Patanowã-tedi had to move frequently from one site to another. The Monou-tedi, who were raiding the Patanowã-tedi, were being raided intensively also. They, too, had to move frequently to avoid the raids. Both groups had to rely on allies to give them refuge during the dry season, the time of the year when raiding is most intense. It will be apparent below how crucial allies are to villages that are being raided frequently, and how agricultural practices necessitate these allies. Finally, the events discussed below will illustrate the degree to which consanguineal ties between mutually hostile villages are able to mitigate the hostilities between these villages.

The war between Monou-tedi and Patanowã-tedi

After the Namowei-tedi group split at the site of Patanowã in the early '40s, the two factions entered into a period of hostility that lasted until one of the factions, the present groups of Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi, moved out of the area. Raiding between the two factions ceased after 1950, and each group entered into political alliances with unrelated neighboring villages.

In the middle '50s, a rapprochement between the two factions was attempted. A few individuals from Monou-tedi began visiting Patanowã-tedi, and one of them, Torokoiwã, was given two wives by the Patanowã-tedi. The rapprochement, however, was never effected and the political relationships between

villages (Bisaasi-tedi, Mǫmaribǫwei-tedi, and Karohi-tedi). These ashes were to be consumed prior to revenge raids on the Patanowǟ-tedi. The Monou-tedi then set about transporting plantain cuttings to their new garden and spent the next several weeks working on the garden. They intended to delay their revenge raid until the beginning of the rainy season in order to make it difficult for the Patanowǟ-tedi to raid them in return. The Monou-tedi moved into Bisaasi-tedi at the end of March both for military protection and for respite from their heavy agricultural labors. They stayed with the Bisaasi-tedi until the end of April, fearing that they would be raided by the Patanowǟ-tedi if they returned to their own village before the rains started. They also planned to raid the Patanowǟ-tedi from Bisaasi-tedi at the beginning of the wet season, knowing that a revenge raid from Patanowǟ-tedi would be difficult once the rains started. They could return to their own village during the rainy season, as the jungle separating their village from the Patanowǟ-tedi is inundated at this time of the year and cannot be traversed.

On April 19th the Bisaasi-tedi sponsored a mortuary feast for the slain Monou-tedi headman in preparation for the revenge raid. The participants in the revenge raid were to include the Mǫmaribǫwei-tedi, but they did not arrive as scheduled, so the raid was delayed until the 21st. Only a few Mǫmaribǫwei-tedi arrived to participate in the raid, and the Bisaasi-tedi immediately suspected that the Mǫmaribǫwei-tedi were plotting to abduct women from them after

726 the men left on the raid. One faction of Bisaasi-tedi did
[722] not participate in the raid in order to protect the women while the others were gone.

The raiding party left on the 21st and returned on
[361] the 2nd of May. They killed one Patanowä-tedi at Shihota, a site abandoned in 1949 by the Bisaasi-tedi now being used by the Patanowä-tedi. The Patanowä-tedi chased the raiders, outflanking them at one point, and shot one of the Monou-tedi, badly wounding him. The man, Konoreiwä, was pierced with a bamboo point just above his heart. Although the tip of the point protruded out his back, he recovered.

726
36 The Patanowä-tedi could not avenge this killing until
*628 the rains subsided. Accordingly, the Monou-tedi returned to
• [221] their own village after they retreated to Bisaasi-tedi on
[132] May 2. They remained in their village until June 20, at which time they rejoined the Bisaasi-tedi; they did so because travel through the jungle was becoming possible by that date, as the rains subsided early in 1965. On July 10 the Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi, assisted by their allies, the Mämariböwei-tedi and Reyaboböwei-tedi, raided the Patanowä-tedi again, leaving from Bisaasi-tedi. The raid proved to be unsuccessful, as the Patanowä-tedi had moved into the village of their only ally, the Ashadowä-tedi. All the raiders except those from Monou-tedi wanted to turn back, as the trail to Ashadowä-tedi was a poor one and retreat would have been difficult. The raiding party did turn back, but the Monou-tedi were angry with their allies for forcing them to

The jungle provides a number of hazards to the barefoot traveler in that most species of palm have long, sharp spines protruding from their trunks or leaf stems. The most common and recurrent injury the Yąnomamö sustain is thorns in the feet. A party of ten men can rarely travel an hour without one of them stopping to extract a thorn from his foot. This is always accompanied by hisses and clicks of pain on the part of the victim, who gouges the thorn out with either an arrow point or another thorn. Their feet have thick calluses on them, but because the trails frequently cross streams and swamps, the calluses soften and are easily pierced by thorns.

Another, but rarer, hazard is snakes.[2] There are always a few cases of snake bite in each village every year, although few of them are fatal. Most snake-bite victims recover from the wound with no ill side effects. I treated two cases of snake bite that were like this. But a few bites are severe enough to cause the loss of a limb. One of my better acquaintances, a young man of some thirty years, lost a leg because of a snake bite when he was about fifteen years old, and will spend the rest of his life hopping on one leg, a form of locomotion he has mastered so thoroughly that he almost manages to keep up with the group when they visit other villages.

Most of the intervillage traveling is done from September through April, the dry season. For the remainder of the year the trails, or substantial portions of them, are underwater. At this time the rains are frequent and heavy, and the small streams that can be easily crossed on foot in the dry season become impassable torrents. Small lakes replace the marshy low ground, and communication between villages all but ceases. As the Yąnomamö are an inland people and avoid locating their villages near large streams, all travel is done on foot, and each village becomes an isolated entity at the peak of the wet season (June).[3] If the group must travel, it will make simple vine and pole bridges over the smaller streams. A pair of slender poles is stuck into the river and crossed to form an X-frame. Vines are used to lash the poles together where they intersect, and another pole is laid from the bank to the X-frame, also secured by vines. Then another pair of poles is stuck into the stream and lashed to form another X-frame. The long pole is then extended out further from the bank, and so on, until the stream is bridged. A vine railing is attached to the protruding members of the X-frames. The bridges usually last only a short time. The first heavy rain will swell the stream and the current will wash it away.

TECHNOLOGY Much of Yąnomamö technology is like the pole-and-vine bridge: crude, but very effective, and not destined to last for any great period of time. The only durable artifact produced is a crude, poorly fired clay pot. It is nearly an inch thick at the bottom and tapers to almost nothing at the brim. Consequently, it breaks very easily. For this reason, women, regarded as clumsy, are rarely allowed to touch or handle them. When the clay pots are used, the men do the cooking, as, for example, during feasts. The pot is made by the coil technique: The untempered clay is kneaded to the proper consistency by hand, rolled into long, slender ropes, and these, in turn, placed on top of each other to form a continuous rope of clay. The coils are then scraped flat so that the interior and exterior of the pot are smooth. The conical-shaped pot is allowed to dry in the shade, then fired by placing brush and wood over it. The end product is

[2]Two percent of all adult deaths are due to snake bite; 54 percent are due to malaria, and other epidemic diseases (Chagnon 1966) and 24 percent of adult males die in warfare.

[3]The Yąnomamö began moving their villages out to navigable rivers after 1955. Up to that time there was only one village, Mahekodo-teri, located on a navigable portion of the Orinoco River.

Today, however, steel tools are quite common, being provided by the several missionaries who have recently located posts at a number of locations in Yąnomamö territory. The tools that they give to their local people are eventually traded inland to more remote villages so that all the Yąnomamö, even those who have not yet had any direct contact with outsiders, now have steel tools.[7] Before the missionaries arrived, the Yąnomamö occasionally obtained steel tools from the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians, who have long been in contact with civilization. Some of the Makiritare made periodic canoe trips in the last century as far east as Georgetown in order to obtain these tools. Kąobawä told me that when he was a young man, his village had a single piece of steel, a portion of a broken machete that came ultimately from the Makiritare Indians by way of several intermediate Yąnomamö villages. Everybody in the village used this tool when they made their gardens. It was hafted on a split stick and used as an axe. I have seen broken machetes used in this fashion in the more remote, steel-poor villages.

The Yąnomamö usually fell the big trees toward the end of the wet season, although I have seen them do it at all times of the year. In general, the clearing of the land tends to be an activity of the wet season while the burning is done during the dry season, but this schedule is by no means rigorous. An adequate burning can be achieved at the peak of the rainy season, provided that there are two days of sunshine in succession. The dead brush and the leaves of the large trees dry out rather quickly in the sun, provided that they have been lying on the ground for a sufficiently long period of time. The trunks of the large trees are never burned, so that a newly cleared garden is strewn with logs lying helter-skelter all over the cleared patch. These serve as boundaries between individual gardens, as the crops belong to the person who plants them.

Each man clears his own land. Brothers will usually clear adjacent portions of land and, if their father is still living, his garden will be among theirs. The headman of the village generally has the largest garden, as he must produce larger quantities of food; he is obliged to give food away at feasts. He can frequently enlist the aid of other men to help him make a large garden. Kąobawä, for example, is helped by a younger brother, a brother-in-law, and the latter's son. Once in a while one of his sisters who lives in a different village visits for a long stretch of time, and her son-in-law also helps Kąobawä work in the garden during these visits.

After the brush has dried out and the larger trees felled, the portable timber and brush is gathered up into piles and burned, each man having several fires going in his own patch, to which he hauls the brush as he gathers it up. Usually, the fires are built under or next to one of the larger logs. In this way the logs dry out even more completely and can be easily chopped up by the women for firewood. The ashes are not scattered to improve soil fertility.

If the new site is a great distance from the previous garden, the men will have to make numerous trips between the two sites in order to transport the plantain cuttings. If an ally's village is closer to the new garden site, some cuttings can be borrowed from his gardens, thereby reducing the transportation labor. Each mature plantain or banana plant sends out suckers which sprout a few feet away from the adult stalk. When the Yąnomamö cut the bunch of plantains or bananas from the producing plant, they also cut the entire plant down to permit the younger suckers to receive the sunlight. The larger

[7] One missionary told me that he has given the residents of his village approximately 3000 machetes over the past eight years! These are traded inland to more remote Yąnomamö.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

a newly planted sucker, the more quickly it will bear fruit. Hence, if the Yąnomamö wish to establish a garden that will produce a crop in the shortest period of time, they must plant large cuttings. These can weigh up to 10 pounds each, and transportation of the cuttings becomes a tremendous task.

As will be made clear later, most long moves are usually stimulated by warfare, and the group is under some pressure to establish a new garden as quickly as possible. The Yąnomamö can speed up their schedule of abandoning an area by taking temporary refuge in the village of an ally, by planting crops other than plantains that mature quickly and produce high yields, or by anticipating a serious war and getting an early start on their new garden. When Kąobawä's group was forced to abandon one of its locations because of a war, the group took refuge with an ally and established its new garden near the ally's village. One of the consequences of these factors is that newly established gardens produce their crops in cycles so that there will be periods of plenty interrupted by periods of hunger. After a few years, the garden will mature and produce constantly. The periods of hunger are eased by planting rapidly developing crops such as maize and by working constantly at transplanting the secondary plantain shoots as they appear. Thus, gardening activities vary largely with the relative maturity of the garden and the length of time the people have been living at that site. Once the plantains are producing constantly, other crops are not cultivated as intensively as before. But whatever the Yąnomamö are eating in a given village, they are striving to get their gardens to produce a constant supply of plantains. The fact that a given village may be relying very heavily on maize at some point in time may reflect no more than the fact that the garden is relatively new and the plantains have not yet begun producing constantly.

After a site has been occupied a few years, gardening activities take on a more regular pattern. The "rectum" (*bei kä basi*) of the garden is gradually abandoned, and a new "nose" (*bei kä bushibö*) is added by clearing adjacent land and transplanting crops. Thus, a garden has a direction—it moves, little by little. Sometimes there will be as many as three or four discrete gardens around a village, all of them producing more or less continuously. The older ones are gradually abandoned because it is simply easier to clear new land than to attempt to weed the thorny underbrush out of the old site. If you have ever attempted to clear prickly brush without wearing protective clothing, you should immediately see the wisdom of the Yąnomamö choice.

In an established garden site, labor follows a more regular pattern. The dry season is usually the time for feasting, visiting, trading, and warfare. Gardening activities are at a minimum at this time of year, but the ambitious will try to work a few hours each day at weeding, transplanting, and burning brush. Most of the heavy labor of felling large trees is restricted to the wet season, when it is cloudy and generally cooler, and the demands of feasting and dancing do not interfere with the work. Still, practical considerations are more important than a fixed schedule of work, and if the gardens are producing insufficient quantities of food, the Yąnomamö will expand their gardens at any time of the year.

GARDEN PRODUCTS Each man's garden contains three or four varieties of both plantains and bananas. The larger portion of the cultivated land will contain plantains, as they produce a higher yield than bananas. The garden will also have a sizeable patch of sweet manioc, a root crop that is boiled or refined into a rough flour by grinding it on a rock and then converting the flour into thick, round cakes of baked cassava bread.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

spent according to a schedule of work alternated with periods of rest. They would live in the Mahekodo-teri village for about three weeks at a stretch, resting from their gardening tasks, and return to their new gardens for about three weeks of intensive clearing and cultivation. Their plantings and seeds were provided by the Mahekodo-teri.[16] They carried their provisions from the Mahekodo-teri gardens while they worked at their new gardens, sending men back for more as these ran short. As soon as one of the new gardens was producing, they moved away from the Mahekodo-teri. The second garden was completed after their move, and the Monou-teri separated from Kąbowä's group. This was about 1954. During the time they lived with the Mahekodo-teri, they raided the Shamatari frequently, and were raided in return. The Shamatari ambushed and killed two Mahekodo-teri on one raid, causing the Mahekodo-teri to actively prosecute the war with the Shamatari to avenge these deaths.

Kąobawä's group abondoned the new site and moved to the Orinoco River shortly after the Monou-teri separated from them. They had established a garden on the Orinoco during the time that the Monou-teri were completing their own site. In short, the garden that was made while Kąobawä and his group lived with the Mahekodo-teri was simply a vantage point that permitted the group to take leave of its protectors as soon as possible, while they established gardens in more desirable locations.

Kąobawä's group moved down the Orinoco River in 1959–1960, after having lived at the new site only five years. This move was stimulated by the appearance of a government malaria team that established a small station at the mouth of the Mavaca River. Kąobawä's group moved across the river from them in order to be in a position to obtain steel tools from the newly arrived foreigners. Kąobawä's group fissioned again in the process of this move; the Lower Bisaasi-teri established a separate garden and built their own village just across the Mavaca River from Kąobawä's group. The fission was not complete, however, as both sections of Bisaasi-teri built a common village that they occupied during the dry season, when they conducted their feasts and went on raiding parties.

Kąobawä's group made contacts with a large Shamatari village, Paruritawä-teri, shortly after having moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River in 1959–1960. This village had fissioned from one of the Shamatari groups that participated in the treacherous feast in 1950 and was on semifriendly terms with it. Thus, Kąobawä and his group saw an opportunity to get revenge on their archenemies. They cultivated an alliance with the Paruritawä-teri and succeeded in getting them to participate in a treacherous feast. The Paruritawä-teri themselves were fissioning into two groups, so they made two new gardens southwest of Kąobawä's village in preparation for the treacherous feast. The feast invitation was sent (1960) to the unsuspecting Shamatari by the Paruritawä-teri. But many of them were sick, and only five men and four women ultimately came to the treacherous feast at Paruritawä-teri. Kąobawä and his followers, as well as the Monou-teri, secreted themselves outside the village while the Paruritawä-teri entertained the hapless guests inside. They managed to kill three of the five men and seized all of the women. The Paruritawä-teri abandoned their garden, anticipating the inevitable revenge raids and moved to the two new sites, fissioning into two groups of about 95 people.

This treacherous feast put the Paruritawä-teri in a very poor position. They were (and are) the westernmost Yąnomamö in the area, and their closest neighbors were the

[16]James Barker informed me of the schedule followed by Kąobawä and his group.

At the evening meal he refused to take a portion of the meat so that the others could have more. Later in the evening, he appeared at my hut begging for a can of sardines to satisfy his hunger for meat. He preferred to go hungry rather than risk the onus of being accused of poor marksmanship or stinginess.

Both sexes participate in the cooking, although the women do the greater share of it. Food preparation is not elaborate and rarely requires much labor, time, or paraphernalia. Spices are never used, although the salty ashes of a particular kind of tree are sometimes mixed with water to form a condiment of sorts. The food is dunked into the salty liquid and eaten.

Everyone eats in his hammock using his fingers for utensils. Some meals cannot be eaten from a reclining position, so the members of the family squat in a circle around the common dish. For example, large quantities of tiny fish are cooked by wrapping them in leaves and cooking them in the hot coals. When the fish are done, the package is spread open, and everyone shares its contents.

Animals are never skinned before cooking. They are merely put over the fire after their entrails have been removed, and roasted, head, fur, claws, and all. Most of the fur is singed off in the process of cooking. The animal is dismembered by hand. The head, particularly the head of a monkey, is highly prized because the brain is considered a delicacy. The most common meat is monkey, of which there are several varieties, so that this delicacy is enjoyed rather frequently by the Yanomamö.

By the time supper is over it is nearly dark. The fires are prepared for the evening; if someone has allowed his own fire to go out during the day, he simply borrows two glowing sticks from a neighbor and rekindles his own hearth. The entrances to the village are sealed off with dry brush so that prowlers can not enter without raising an alarm. Before retiring to their hammocks, the Yanomamö first sit on them and wipe the bottoms of their bare feet together. This rubs off most of the debris that has accumulated on them during the course of the day. Everyone sleeps naked and as close to the fire as possible. Despite the inevitable last-minute visiting, things are usually quiet in the village by the time it is dark.

Things are not always quiet after dark. If anyone in the village is sick, a shaman will chant to the malevolent spirits most of the night to exorcise them. Or, should anyone be mourning a dead kinsman, he or she will sob and wail long after the others have fallen asleep. Occasionally, a fight will break out between a husband and wife, and soon everybody in the village will be screaming, expressing opinions on the dispute. The shouting may continue sporadically for hours, dying down only to break out anew as someone gets a fresh insight into the problem. Once in a while someone gives a long, loud speech voicing his opinion on the world in general. Those who are interested may add their own comments, but the audience usually grumbles about the noise and falls asleep.

Status Differences and Activities

Daily activities, except those concerning gardening and visiting, do not vary much from season to season. Much of the variation that does occur is a function of one's age or sex, as was shown above.